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M. Lemonnier fails to emphasize sufficiently the point that Louis XII.'s policy at the council of Bologna was due more to his determination to abase the horns of the pope than to zeal for reform. Again, the peculiar autonomy enjoyed by Burgundy and Brittany practically forced a moderate provincial policy upon the king, but the influence exercised by this fact is unnoticed. The reviewer, at least, cannot help regretting these lacunae in the face of what seems to be an undue amount of military narration. One is prepared to admit the military genius of Gaston de Foix, as so admirably set forth (pp. 98-104), but the account of Bayard's prowess in duels and other feats of arms might safely have been left to the pages of *Le Loyal Serviteur*.

Some of M. Lemonnier's judgments have a piercing keenness, as when he says of Ludovico Sforza: "Les Italiens du XVI^e siècle ont eu pour sa politique un respect incroyable; preuve de plus que le condottierisme était au fond de l'âme italienne" (p. 11). Others are likely to be challenged by his readers, notably his conviction of the poverty of Italian political conceptions—"notre Europe politique ou sociale n'est en rien sortie de là" (p. 12)—and the view that Julius II. inaugurated nothing (pp. 111-112).

The bibliographies appended to each chapter are, as usual, excellent. But one doubts if the volumes of the *Calendar of State Papers* edited by Bergenroth and Dr. Brewer have been actually consulted in the composition of this work; for the evidence of Ferdinand the Catholic's own correspondence belies the statement on page 72 that Queen Isabella of her own will left the government of Castile to Ferdinand, to the detriment of her daughter Juana and her son-in-law, Philip of Burgundy.

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

The Philippine Islands, 1493-1803. Translations from contemporaneous books and manuscripts. Edited and annotated by EMMA HELEN BLAIR and JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON, with historical introduction and additional notes by EDWARD GAYLORD BOURNE. Vol. I., 1493-1529; Vol. II., 1529-1569; Vol. III., 1569-1576; Vol. IV., 1576-1581; Vol. V., 1582-1583. To be complete in fifty-five volumes. (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company. 1903. Pp. 6-358; 4-335; 8-316; 6-317; 8-320.)

FIVE volumes have now appeared of this, the most important and extensive undertaking ever made in Philippine history. Volume I. is chiefly occupied, besides the notable historical introduction of Professor Bourne, covering some ninety pages, with documents relating to the famous "Demarcation Line" by which Pope Alexander VI. sought to divide the world between Portugal and Spain. Though entirely pertinent (the desire to reach spice islands by a western route led to Magellan's famous voyage of discovery), one feels that it was not strictly necessary to go so in detail into the documentary history of this never-settled

controversy. The remainder of this volume contains some documents relating to Magellan's voyage, of which the most valuable is the letter of Maximilianus Transylvanus, then a student in Spain, narrating the story of the voyage brought by its few survivors, the handful who really first circumnavigated the globe. Volume II. contains synopses of documents pertaining to the unsuccessful voyages of Loaisa and Villalobos, and brings us into the real beginnings of Spanish-Philippine history with the account of the successful expedition of Legaspi, resulting in a permanent settlement at Cebú in 1565. It were to be wished that the editors had more diligently searched the archives for this period ; for the information to be gleaned from what they have presented to us, though considerable, especially in the letters of Legaspi to King Philip II., is all too meager. Volume III. gives us documentary accounts of the conquest of Manila and part of Luzon ; considerable about their people and the Chinese ; some further accounts of the trouble with the Portuguese, who claimed the Philippines as "within their demarcation" ; and hints as to the beginnings of missionary work by the friars and as to the earliest conflicts of authority and opinion between friars and lay authorities in the islands. In Volume IV. the matters of *encomiendas* for the Spanish conquerors and of the tribute to be paid by the natives are further threshed over, and the beginnings of Spain's vacillating policy of conquest among the Moros of the South Philippines are very adequately presented. In Volume V., dealing with the two years after the arrival of the first Philippine bishop, Domingo de Salazar — sometimes called "the las Casas of the Philippines" for his protests against enslaving the natives under the form of tribute or under the *encomiendas* — we are launched more fully into the conflict between civil and ecclesiastical authorities, a conflict which thereafter never ceased, except for brief spells, until the close of Spanish rule in the Philippines. Among the documents of Volume V. also is the "Relation" by Miguel de Loarca of the Philippine islands and people as thus far (up to 1582) conquered and known by the Spaniards. This is the most informative document yet produced in this series. It covers one hundred and fifty-five pages of old Spanish text and translation, side by side.

By making the statement that this series will, when completed, constitute the most important as well as the most extensive work ever published in Philippine history, it is not meant to imply that the printed material at the disposal of the student of Philippine history is slight. The editors of this series found themselves confronted at the very outset with a vast amount of such material, which was the more confusing in that it was so ill-assorted and undigested. They set themselves the task not only of assorting this material, but also of selecting for the student and statesman the significant data to be gleaned from the archives, particularly those of Seville, rich in Philippina. To choose out of this mass of printed and documentary sources the data of vital interest as bearing on Spanish colonial administration and as revealing the life and characteristics of the millions of Malays with whom we now have to deal,

and "whom we must understand if we would do them justice," is indeed, as Professor Bourne says in the introduction, "an undertaking large in its possibilities for the public good." The printed sources are almost wholly in Spanish, and not readily available even to him who reads that language, as most of the important works were issued in small editions and are rare and difficult to obtain. And he who examines these sources at all carefully will perceive that no real scholarly work, of the sort which the modern historical investigator deems worthy the name of scholarship, has ever been done in Philippine history, and will at once decide that the bulk of this work remains to be done among the manuscripts to be brought to light in the Spanish colonial archives and elsewhere. These considerations will help us to understand how ambitious is the undertaking these editors have set for themselves in the very first half-decade of American occupation of the Philippines. Indeed, the conviction is forced upon us by an inspection of the prospectus and of the volumes thus far issued, that the editors themselves have not fully appreciated the magnitude of the task they set themselves.

Right at the outset it is evident that they have been dependent upon the previously accepted authorities in Philippine history. This was inevitable, since there has not been time for that independent examination of the material which alone could enable them to deal authoritatively with it. One may say that this is of less importance in a work which aims mainly at the republication of documentary sources, and not at the independent writing of history, with its statement of conclusions and decisions between conflicting data. Nevertheless, in such a field as that of Philippine history, interwoven from the first with a great controversy, viz., that over the predominance of the religious orders, it is vitally necessary that editorial work be based on an independently equipped judgment.

It is not enough that there should be freedom from bias. These editors assure us of their desire to preserve an impartial attitude as between the sides of a three-century-old conflict; and there can be no doubt as to the honesty of their intentions in this respect. Nevertheless, they have, in the absence of an ability to judge independently as to the material which is most trustworthy and most significant for this work, been obliged to rely on existing authorities. Unfortunately for them, Philippine history has been written almost exclusively by friars or by writers with a pro-friar bias. A Jesuit would center Philippine history about the doings of his brotherhood; a Dominican would glorify his order at the expense of its rivals, until one must sift and compare and reconcile conflicting statements to get at the real truth, while much that is highly significant has been omitted or glossed over. Moreover, a good portion of the unpublished sources of Philippine history is in the friar archives of Spain and the Philippines; and it is the simple truth to say that it has not always been and is not now being handled with candor; so that, with intentions unquestionably the best, the editors of this work have already been led to betray a pro-friar bias. This has inevitably come

about through their dependence on others in the selection of material for reproduction and through the lack of sufficient preparation to annotate the documents already published in a way that would enable the reader new to Philippina to judge of their relative worth and properly to estimate the data they present.

It is regrettable that this criticism must be offered — all the more so, as the friar controversy is still being waged in this country ; and any expression upon it always leads to the imputation of unfairness. It is all very well to say that the editor of such a work as this must not appear to know either side to a controversy, must, as nearly as possible, ignore its existence. But the friar controversy is writ so large all over Philippine history and has so distorted it in its written form, that one is simply compelled to take it into account at every stage. But one comprehensive piece of work has been done in this subject that was not open to the charge of a friar bias, viz., the three-volume history of Montero y Vidal, and that is a mere string of chronicles, with little pretension to scholarship.

Evidently, large research in the archives of Philippina is necessary, if independent and satisfactory work is to be done. It is precisely that research in which the work here under discussion, at least in the volumes thus far issued, is deficient. There are rehearsed to us in these five volumes mainly the conventional documents referred to in histories written later on. Fortunately, there is plenty of time during the three or four years to come, while the succeeding volumes are appearing, to remedy this defect, to some extent at least. One should hesitate to express too harsh a judgment ; and yet we are practically limited to the volumes at hand for an opinion on the undertaking. Moreover, the prospectus for the later portions of the work shows many important omissions of documents not to be obtained except by search outside of friar sources.

If criticisms are to be offered on the editors' selection of material, there is, as hinted, not less criticism to be passed on the annotations, or lack of annotations. Herein particularly are the volumes thus far issued weak (in addition to minor mistakes caused by a too servile following of Retana and other often fallible authorities) ; and the student without other means of reaching judgments on the early period of Spanish rule would be subject to various errors as well as to much confusion. That the statements made in the foregoing few paragraphs have not been overdrawn is evidenced by these remarks in the preface to Volume V.:

The coming (in 1581) of the zealous and intrepid bishop, Domingo de Salazar, was a red-letter day for the natives of the islands. The Spanish conquerors are ruthlessly oppressing the Indians, caring but little for the opposition made by the friars ; but Salazar exerts as far as possible, his ecclesiastical authority, and, besides, vigorously urges the king to shield these unfortunate victims of Spanish rapacity. Various humane laws are accordingly enacted for the protection of the natives, but of course this interference by the bishop occasions a bitter hostility between the ecclesiastical and the secular powers — perhaps never to be quieted.

That Salazar was indeed zealous in behalf of the natives, and that the friars in the early days, the "heroic period" of missionary work,

were in general protectors as well as zealous mentors of the natives, is true; but the inferences to be drawn by the uninformed from the above editorial statements are unwarranted. The controversy between secular and ecclesiastical authorities began before Salazar's arrival, and the friars were not always in the right nor the lay conquerors always oppressors; instance the desire of the missionaries to abandon the toilsome labors of the Philippines for the more attractive and glorious field in China, as soon as they arrived at Manila from Mexico, and the check put upon this movement by the secular authorities.

And what shall we say of Professor Bourne's introduction? In many respects the most complete and scholarly monograph on Philippine history yet published in English, and evincing diligent and quite extensive reading in the subject, it yet perfectly illustrates the danger of relying on the existing sources of authority. With Professor Bourne's estimate of the work of the friars in what he calls their "golden age," it would not be easy seriously to disagree. But when he charges the decline in purity of government, in economic progressiveness, and in industrial and social development in general, from 1700 onward, entirely upon the "inept bureaucracy" of Spain, and declares that the friars did what they could to remedy the mistakes of the civil administrators, he becomes a literal follower of the friar writers, belied as their statements are by the plain record of the past two centuries. The orders ruled in Spain and in the Philippines until forty years ago, and often thereafter, and they mapped out general policies and ruthlessly supervised details; it is plain justice to hold them to responsibility for the results.

Professor Bourne has done the Filipino people many injustices in his acceptance of pro-friar authorities, none other of them greater than his gratuitous fling at José Rizal, borrowed from the industrious but much-biased Philippine bibliographer W. E. Retana, who has repeatedly been taxed with being a hireling of the friars. Similar is his acceptance of the most careless statements made by recent writers about the state of the Filipinos as a "set of savages" at the time of Spanish conquest.

One might wish that this series had been prefaced with documents bearing upon the state of pre-conquest Filipinos. Such documents as Loarca's relation (Volume V.) in part supply this defect. The first task the modern historian of these people must set himself is to ascertain the state of culture of these Malays at the coming of Magellan, as a basis for an estimate on the work of the conquerors, if for no broader reasons. For this purpose he must, as in the case of modern investigation into the state of prehistoric Mexican culture, needs go, in every way possible, beyond the careless statements of unscientific and prejudiced Spanish conquerors, lay or ecclesiastical. Here lies a most difficult but a most interesting piece of work for the modern investigator. Had José Rizal lived, there is hope that it would at least have been undertaken in a satisfactory way.

As now planned, this series will end with the eighteenth century. It was thought that the sources for nineteenth-century Philippine history

are more readily accessible in printed form. This is true ; nevertheless a service would be performed by going outside the beaten track for the significant unprinted data bearing on this period, when events were shaping themselves for Spain's downfall, so remarkably predicted in 1859 by the German traveler in the Philippines, Ferdinand Jagor. The work is being put forth in very suitable form, neatly and plainly bound, on deckle-edged paper, with gilt top. Bibliographic data are appended to each volume, and we are promised a final volume containing a full bibliography and analytical index. The illustrations, reproductions of old paintings, facsimiles of documents and rare maps, have thus far been very satisfactory. That the editors of this work have launched it without time for sufficient preparation is the criticism to be made upon it ; and a serious criticism it is. But it could not fail to be a most valuable series, from every point of view, at this moment in our national history, and especially in view of the almost total lack of available publications on Philippine history in the English language. With every reasonable prospect for more and more effective editorial work in the succeeding volumes, it is to be said that the volumes already out seem to make the work one indispensable to every well-equipped reference library in the United States.

JAMES A. LEROY.

London in the Eighteenth Century. By SIR WALTER BESANT. (London : Adam and Charles Black ; New York : The Macmillan Company. 1903. Pp. xvii, 667.)

It was the aim of the late Sir Walter Besant to do for the London of the nineteenth century what Stow in his classic *Survey* did for the sixteenth. To that end he planned a great coöperative work, in which he reserved to himself the task of writing a general history of the city. Though his share of the undertaking was practically completed before his death, it was thought best, for various reasons, to publish in the present volume only the portion relating to the eighteenth century. This history contains the ripest fruits of Sir Walter's labors : indeed, we are told that he "was wont to refer to it as his *magnum opus*, and it was the work by which he most desired to be remembered by posterity." To attempt in a brief review to give an adequate idea of the wealth of information contained in the stately quarto now before us would result in a "mere aggregate of bewildered jottings." Consequently it will be necessary to restrict ourselves to a bare indication of the classes of subjects treated and to a few references to some of the more striking facts and conclusions.

Besant had already shown in his *Chaplain of the Fleet and All Sorts and Conditions of Men* that he knew and loved his London as few men have known and loved it. For over thirty years he was engaged in reading and taking notes on the social side of London life, not only in the present but in the past. The results of this patient accumulation are grouped and presented in this posthumous work with the practiced novelist's eye for picturesque effect, though the general symmetry is marred